This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best called by its native name *soregus. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ũ soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment when the women who were massaging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /na/m/na/m means enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[2] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104–5; Albrecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[2] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-toxic herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. ocymifolia. — Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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595 hut was regarded as the principal hut of the family, visiting friends off-saddled in front of it, and in it the husband received his guests. Her children were better clothed than, and given preference to, those of the other wives, and received appreciably more of the paternal inheritance.[1]

Nowadays the Hottentots are ostensibly monogamists. But where there are no children to the marriage or only daughters, the custom is still sometimes exercised by which the husband enters into the *sore* relationship with a girl, who becomes his concubine. This *sore* relationship in no way debars the girl from subsequently marrying another man, if she wishes to, but her marriage results in the ending of all intimacy. The children born of this relationship remain with their natural father, and have the same rights of inheritance as the children of a properly-married woman. To the wife the existence [578] of such a relationship is a matter of deep mortification, since it reflects upon her own barrenness, and consequently greatly reduces her prestige. Often, as a result of her jealousy, the girl dare not come into the man's camp, but has to be visited by him at her own home. Olpp states further that many men, when they are absent from home, will be unfaithful to their wives, and may even keep regular concubines in distant kraals. Honourable women, who feel their position damaged, may in such a case leave their husbands, and return with the hut and household property to their parents, until the husband humbly comes to seek pardon.[2]

837 Infidelity on the part of the husband is not recognized as a ground 684 for divorce, nor is adultery on the part of the wife. In the old days, according to Kolb, the Cape Hottentots regarded the latter as a capital offence, punishable by death without further question and without the least regard for the status of the adulterer. The Naman also, according to Kohler's informant, would kill the adulterer if caught red-handed. Otherwise the matter had to be referred to the tribal council, which would fine the adulterer and perhaps order him to be thrashed. It seems, however, that in more recent times at least, the injured husband could altogether overlook the offence, if he wished. Vedder even goes so far as to say that adultery, though regarded as improper, is not subject to punishment.[3]

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 317; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 342.

[2] Von François, op. cit., 212, 214; Olpp, loc. cit.; cf. Schultze, op. cit., 319; *Report on Natives of S.W.A.*, 75.

[3] Kohler, op. cit., 354; Kolb, op. cit., 71; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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And Wikar, as far back as 1778, described what almost seems to have been a form of wife exchange among the Little Namaqua tribes. A married man, he says, will come at night into the hut of another, and lie down next to the latter's wife; whereupon the husband gets up to make room for him, and goes to sleep in another part of the hut. The following night this process is reversed, but, as Wikar delightfully adds, if the wife of the man who first initiated it is ugly, the affair is soon ended (" maar is de vrouw van diegeene die 't spel eerst begonnen heeft leelijk, dan wil 't tog niet braaf lukken met deeze handel ") ! This form of intercourse is naturally of quite a different order from adultery, for although it is an encroachment upon the husband's sexual prerogative over his wife, it takes place with his full agreement, and he himself obtains a reciprocal liberty. It appears from Wikar's description that the relationship is formally agreed upon by the two husbands, for he speaks of it as being accompanied by slaughtering and rejoicing, but it is not clear if we have anything here in the nature of the *sore* relationship.[1] In any case it is a good illustration of the freedom of sexual life among the Hottentots. A similar instance is mentioned by Alexander: " If a Hottentot has been out hunting and on his return finds his place occupied, he sits down at the door of his hut, and the paramour handing him out a bit of tobacco, the injured man contentedly smokes it till the latter chooses to retire." [2] This statement one would certainly question were it not compatible with the description just quoted from Wikar, who is on the whole so accurate an observer that there is no good reason for rejecting his evidence on this particular point.

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The only ground for divorce is ill-treatment, which has to be proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council, in whose hands the decision lies. A wife deserting her husband is forced to return to him, and similarly a husband abandoning his wife is requested to return to her. Should he refuse or neglect to do so, his property is taken from him and handed over to her.[3]

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Marriage, in addition to establishing the household with all its accompanying social, economic, and legal functions, also creates social observances of a special type with regard to the relatives-in-law. A man not only lives, as we have seen, with his parents-in-law for some time after his marriage, during which he has to render them

[1] Op. cit., 103.
[2] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 196. Cf. also Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42, 64–5.
[3] Kohler, op. cit., 343, 354.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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him or get all his valuable cattle out of the way; and yet not the least suspicion would be awakened that there was any villainy or dishonesty in the matter."

Wikar, himself a party to such a compact, speaks of it in far more generous terms.[1] "An old father and captain of the Bushmen (*sic*) named Ougaa came to me this evening and proposed to take me on as his bond brother ('*opligtbroer*'), to which I was agreeable, but I said that I had no cattle to give him. He replied however that tobacco would do just as well as cattle from me; if I got cattle during his lifetime then we could give them to one another, if not he would still be my brother and never leave me in the lurch but would help and be faithful to me. And this was indeed the case, for I must acknowledge before God and man that he was to me not merely as a brother but even as a father in all my sorrow, distress, hunger and bodily danger. According to Hottentot practice I might now refuse him nothing for which he asked me and which I had, I must help him and stand beside him in everything, and so too must he act towards me."

The information relating to this custom is on the whole too fragmentary to enable one to determine its full function in Hottentot life. That it is not limited to exchange of goods is shown by the fact, as we have seen, that it easily lends itself to homosexual practices, where the two persons are of the same sex, and possibly even to wife-exchange, if Wikar's description of the latter can be regarded as another illustration of the usages associated with the *soregus*. But nowhere is any analysis made of the respective social status of the two persons concerned, of the circumstances under which the compact is entered upon, of the extent to which it is practised, and of all its implications. In the absence of such an analysis, and even of the full concrete data upon which it can be based, speculation as to the real meaning of the custom can only be tentative. Tindall's description may possibly furnish one of the underlying motives, in the sense that the compact may be regarded as a means of ensuring protection and hospitality when one is visiting a distant locality; but there are obviously other motives inducing people to enter into such a relationship, and the custom is well worth studying in more detail than has yet been done. As far as the present discussion concerning property is concerned, the very fact that such a system of exchange and even exploitation as is implied in the compact must be

[1] Op. cit., 85–6.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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thing at his maternal uncle's */Hèis*, or home, without being blamed for it. He could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange was called *//nûri //as*, and it is still practiced by the Nama to-day.

The only other relationship calling for special notice is that of a man to his relatives by marriage. To his wife's sisters, a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[13] This practice is, of course, strongly condemned by the missionaries who report these things, and it is interesting to note that the women seem to have taken advantage of the objection on the part of the missionaries to avoid this relationship in some instances.

His wife's mother had always to be treated with the greatest deference by a husband. They were said to be "shy" of one another, and the man might never look at her when speaking to her. There used in the past to be a special form of address between all relatives-in-law, the formal "You" being applied both to the mother-in-law, to the brothers of a man's wife, and to her father, but it is not so used nowadays.

In addition to the strict prohibition against marriage in the sib, a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same great name as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded either as a mother if much older, or as a daughter if younger than the man. Nowadays, this prohibition, too, has ceased to be observed. I have instances in the genealogies, though not many, of such marriages having taken place.

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[13] Cf. Rheinische Missions Berichte, 1856, p. 321; also same Berichte, 1860, p. 21.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief.

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]).

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured.

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it.

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's

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77) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 360 ff.)

78) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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the war. The chance of living in peace and quiet, and the freedom to extend our dominion, were secured for us.[102])

In the early days of the Colony the natives thought that our men who lived next to them could vomit fire. They stood by in amazement, while on the discharge of our guns they saw the largest wild animal, a lion, or an elephant, laid low by one leaden bullet as if struck by lightning. Our cavalry likewise they regarded as so many Centaurs, half horses half men; at the sight of them they began to shake; and they held their strength in such awe that any native wife or maid would prostitute herself to them, hoping, like a second Thalestra, to conceive an Alexander; the woman's husband perhaps would urge her to it, and she would be all the more ready because firmly convinced that the virtue of the sire would be implanted in any child conceived from one of our men. Poor woman! All because she had never heard of powder and shot.

In order to foster these illusions one of our fellows gave a native a dish to be filled with water from the streams near by. Meantime he took a second dish like the first, overflowing with strong spirits of wine, and hid it in his tent. The native returned bringing the bowl of water, which our man took and put secretly beside the concealed dish. He then summoned the natives to attend with their witch-doctors. They all came at once, and were asked whether they could cause to break into flame the water fetched by the native from the stream and contained in the dish. They confessed their inability, alleging that nobody could do it. Then our wily fellow produced the bowl of spirits of wine, called for a light, and cunningly applied the match to the spirits of wine. When the natives saw the burst of flame, they thought he had set the water on fire; suspecting no deceit, they fled in all directions, some through shame, but all in fear. So is the trickster tricked[103]).

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happened during the journey to Namaqualand. He describes it as follows: "Un jour qu'il estoit campé sur une petite hauteur, les Outentos qui l'accompagnoient, lui dirent qu'il alloit mourir, et qu'ils voyoient venir à lui les deux plus grand sorciers du pais. En effet, deux hommes habillés bizarrement, suivis d'une centaine d'autres, s'approchoient gravement: mais il les prévint, et leur fit dire qu'il estoit plus grand sorcier qu'eux; et pour le leur prouver, il fit apporter devant eux un verre d'eau-de-vie, y mit le feu, et l'avala toute enflammée. Les pauvres sorciers se jetterent à genoux, reconnurent son pouvoir supérieur, et se retirent" (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, reprint 1930, p. 276). There is no mention at all of this incident in the official records of the journey, but some such story must have been current in the Cape about 1685, forming the source upon which both G. and de Choisy drew their respective accounts.